

N^o 13
*The Authority of the Civil Powers in
Matters of Religion asserted and
vindicated.*

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED before the Right Honourable the

Lord MAYOR,

THE

COURT of ALDERMEN,

AND

**LIVERIES of the Several
COMPANIES of LONDON,**

In the PARISH CHURCH of

St. LAWRENCE JEWRY,

On *Saturday, Sept. 29, 1722.*

Being the Day of ELECTION of a Lord
MAYOR for the Year ensuing.

By **WILLIAM BERRIMAN, D.D.**
RECTOR of *St. Andrew's Undershaft*, and
CHAPLAIN to the Right Reverend the LORD
BISHOP of LONDON.

LONDON: —

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K

Stewart Mayor. Cur. Special. tent.
in Festo Sancti Mi-
chaelis Archange-
li, scilicet Sabbati
vigesimo nono die
Septembris 1722,
Annoque Regis
Georgii Magnæ
Britanniæ &c. no-
no.



IT is ordered, that the Thanks of this
Court be given to the Reverend Dr.
Berriman for his Sermon preach'd before
this Court and the Liveries of the several
Companies of this City, at the Parish
Church of St. Lawrence Jewry, before
the Election of a Lord Mayor for the
Year ensuing; and that he be ordered to
print the same.

Stracey.



JOB xxxi. 28.

*This also were an Iniquity to be punished
by the Judge: For I should have de-
nied the God that is above.*

HIS patience of Job having been
fully tried, not only by his enduring of
various misfortunes, but by the se-
vere expostulations of his friends: he
comes at last to make ample professions of his
own integrity, and mentions to that purpose his
freedom from any grievous iniquities, as well such
as were cognisable by the civil magistrate, as those
which were only liable to the divine vengeance.
Of this latter sort were those merciless and uncha-
ritable dispositions of mind, from which tho' hu-
man laws might be too feeble to restrain him,
yet *destruction from God was a terror to him,*
and by reason of his highness he could not en-
dure^a. Of the other sort, which fall under the
censure of human laws, he mentions as well

^a Job xxxi. 23.

those which more immediately concern the peace and order of society (such as that instance of *adultery* in the ninth verse, concerning which he thus expresseth himself at the eleventh; *for this is an heinous crime, yea it is an iniquity to be punished by the judges:*) as those which do properly affect the state and profession of religion, such as that instance of *idolatry* in the verses before the text, of which he declares here in like manner, that *this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge*, and assigns for it the following reason, *for I should have denied the God that is above.*

THE vice here disclaimed by this ancient writer, is described in such a manner as may intimate the true origine of *Pagan idolatry*, with one principal rite or ceremony of performing it. Whether it had any place in the world before the flood, may be reasonably doubted.

But

^b Maimonides (in *Avoda Zara* c. 1. §. 1.) has placed the origine of Idolatry as high as the time of Enos, the son of Seth: in which Opinion he is followed by Selden (*de Dis Syris Proleg. cap. 3.*) besides many others both of *Jews* and *Christians*. But their opinion being wholly founded on a single text in *Gen. iv. 26.* which they understand to mean, that men **PROFANED** by calling on the name of the Lord, namely by ascribing the divine name and honour to that which is not God: if this interpretation be it self groundless, then all that is built upon it, must fall at once. The word **וַיִּקְרָא** indeed, if derived from **וַיִּקְרָא**, will signifie *Profanation*: But then the sense of the place is not so easy or grammatical [see Heidegger *Hist. sacr. Patriarchar.* vol. 1. Exercit. 6. §. 27. Campeg. *Vitringa de Synagog.* vet. lib. 1. par. 2. cap. 1.] as if it be derived from **וַיִּקְרָא** to signifie *beginning*: According to our translation, **Then BEGAN men to call upon the name of the Lord**, or rather to call by the name of the Lord, i. e. to denominate themselves after his name, and be distinguish'd from the family of Cain, by being term'd the sons of God, as his posterity were the sons and daughters men. *Gen. vi. 2.* (*Vitringa ut. supra.* See also *Jurieu's critical history*

But soon after it seems to have risen from a popular opinion, that the celestial orbs were inhabited by some intelligent beings, which animated and actuated them in the like manner as the human soul does the body of man^c, and were so placed by God as the ministers by whose means he would govern and direct the universe^d. To these therefore the people addressed themselves as to proper mediators, to transact between them and the supream Deity; and the honours paid to 'em in this relation, they considered as ultimately done to God himself^e. From hence *Job* refers to it as the method

history of the Doctrine and worship of the Church, par. 3. cap. 3.) Some therefore have imagined on the other hand, that there was no such thing as *Antediluvian Idolatry*. *Idolorum enim cultum illa mundi infans ignorabat*. *Canonic de rep. Hebr.* lib. 3. cap. 1. 'Εὐδὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀντιδελφικοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν γένεσιν ἐκείνοις τοῖς παλαιῶν χρόνων ἱερουργεῖν ἔβυλετο. *Cyril. Alex. adv. Julian.* lib. 3. *prope finem*. And indeed the crimes of those times seem rather to have been *impiety* and a *neglect* of religion; to which perhaps it was owing, that after the flood men ran into the opposite extremum of *Idolatry and Superstition*. *vid. Furien ut supra*. Tho' some, who allow that text in *Genesis* to be no sufficient proof of the matter, have nevertheless concluded, from the manner in which the impiety of the *Antediluvians* is described, and from their being ranked with false teachers in the new testament (*2 Pet.* ii. 5. *Jude ver.* 11.) that there must have been some kind of *Heresy or Idolatry* among them. See *Heidegger ut supra exercis.* 8. §. 3. * See Dean Pridenau's *conclusion of the history of the*

O. and N. T. vol. 1. p. 139. 140. fol. ^d וְיוֹ הַחַיִּים
טַעֲמוֹתָם אִמְרוּ וְהָאֵל בְּרָא כּוֹכָבִים אֱלֹו וְנִלְגְּלִים לְהַנְהִיג
אֶת הָעוֹלָם וְנַחֲנֵם בְּמִדּוֹת וְחָזַק לָהֶם כְּבוֹד וְהֵם
שִׁמְשִׁים חֲשָׁשִׁים לְפָנָיו. *Their error lay in this, that they*
supposed God had created the stars and celestial orbs to have the government
of the world, and had placed them in that high station that they might
partake of Glory, as the ministers that serve before him. *Maimon.*
Avoda Zara c. 1. §. 1.

רְאוּיִין הֵם לְשִׁבְחָם וּלְפָאֲרָם
וּלְחִלּוֹק לָהֶם כְּבוֹד וְזֶה רֵצֵן הָאֵל בְּרוּךְ הוּא לְגַדֵּל וּלְכַבֵּד
סַעֲגָדָו וּלְכַבֵּדוֹ כִּמְוֹ שֶׁהַמֶּלֶךְ רּוֹצֵן לְכַבֵּד הַעֲסָדִים לְפָנָיו
וְהֵם

thod of idolatry usual in his time; If I beheld the sun (says he) when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand^s: i. e. If I have made these the objects of my trust and confidence, or paid any religious worship and adoration to 'em. And therefore it was that God gave his people a special caution against this practice: *Left thou lift up thine eyes* (says he) *unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou shouldst be driven to worship them and serve them*.

THE same madness which prompted men to this prostitution of divine honours, had carried them still farther, to erect statues and temples to the honour of these imaginary deities^s, and thereby to secure, in effigie at least, their constant presence or residence among them. Thus Baal is said to have represented the sun^t, and Ashtaroth the moon^k: And the same might be observed of others, tho' when once the practice of image-worship was introduced, the mischief enlarged it self much farther; and the like representations were made either of men deceased

כבודו של מלך From hence men esteemed them worthy to have praise and honour and glory ascribed to them, and that it was God's will they should magnify and honour those whom he had magnified and honoured; in like manner as a king would have honour done to his ministers, which indeed is doing honour to the king himself. Maimon. *ibid.* Job. xxxi. 26, 27.

^s Vid. Maimon. & Prideaux ut supra.

^t Selden de Dia Syris Syntag. 2. cap. 1. Jurieu's critical history. par. 4. treat 3. cap. 5. p. 69.

^k Selden. cap. 2. Jurieu treat 5. cap. 4. p. 147.

or of legendary heroes. In one way or the other, the practice of idolatry was grown so general by the time of Abraham, that the Patriarch was almost singular for standing out against it, and is therefore proposed as a memorable example of faith and integrity. Others as the *Magi* are said to have abhorred the use of images, but yet paid their worship to fire, which was unquestionably designed as a symbol of the sun^m. And so far the *Zabians* and they, however reckoned for opposite sects, may seem to have had the same original.

AMONG the rites of idol-worship, that of *salutation* was very ancient and remarkable. Of this we have mention in the book of *Kings*; where God says to *Elijah*, *I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not KISSED him*ⁿ; and in the Prophet *Hosea*, *Let the men that sacrifice KISS the calves*^o. But yet there may be room to question, whether it were customary to kiss the idol itself, or only to kiss their own hands as they were

ⁿ See *Brideaux* connexion. vol. 1. p. 141. ^o See *Jurieu's* critical history, par. 4. treat. 7. cap. 2. p. 196. ^p 1 Kings xix 18. ^q Hof. xiii. 2. The Hebrew Phrase is *וְכָל יְדַיִם וְכָל בָּנִים* *Let the sacrificers of men kiss the calves*, which some have understood of *Moloch*, whose image was form'd with the the head of a Calf or Heifer, and was thought to receive the greatest honour from those who sacrificed their sons, *vid Selden de Diis Syris Syntag* 1. cap. 6. and *Jurieu's* critical history, par. 4. treat. 2. cap. 2. p. 20, 21. But I should rather understand this passage to have reference to *Jeroboam's calves*; and *וְכָל יְדַיִם* may only signify the sacrificers from among men, or in our translation *the men that sacrifice*. So one would be apt to take both those texts in *Kings* and *Hosea*: so they who sacrificed their sons

were bending their bodies towards it. Sometimes it is certain the latter practice prevailed, either for expressing greater reverence of the idol^r, or because it was placed too high and out of reach^t, or the worshippers were too far distant, or perhaps were but occasionally passing by^r. Of this there are sundry testimonies in profane authors, the *Greeks* and *Romans* having manifestly derived this practice from the Eastern nations, a-

to Moloch, were admitted to kiss the idol it self [R. Simeon in *Jalkut apud Furien ut supra*]. And *Lucretius* in his first book *de rerum natura*, plainly speaks of kissing the hand of the idol.

Tum portas propter, aliena
Signa manus dextras ostendunt attenuari
Sæpe SALUTANTUM tactu, præterque manuum.

* In orando dextram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus. *Plin. hist. lib. 28. cap. 5.* And to this *Demosthenes* alludes in *encomio prope finem*: Χῆρα τῷ εἰμαδι προσηγγεῖσθαι [touch] εὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ προσκυνοῦν ἐπιλαμβάναν.

So perhaps we might take that passage in *Lucian* περὶ Ὀυσιῶν, Θίμωος δὲ βωμῶν — πρὸς αἰγῶσι τὰς Ουσιῶν, βῶν μὲν ἀρετῶν ὁ γιωργός, ἄρῃ δὲ ὁ παμίων, καὶ αὐγὰ ὁ αἰπῶλος, ὁ δὲ τις λιβαῖος ἢ πότατος ὁ δὲ πίνος, βλάστω τὸν θῆν, φιλέσθαι μόνον τὴν αὐτῷ δεξιάν. And more plainly *Apuleius* (*Metam. lib. 4. p. 132. edit. Paris 1688.*) Speaking of the spectators of a beautiful lady: Admoventes oribus suis dextram, primore digito in erectum pollicem refidentē, ut ipsam prorsus Deam Venerem, religiosi adorationibus venerabantur.

So *Job* in the verse before the text, speaking of the heavenly bodies: If my mouth hath kissed my hand. And *Lucian* [περὶ ὀρχήσεως vol. 1. p. 792. edit. *Amstel.* 1687.] speaking of the *Indians* worshipping the Sun: Ἰνδοὶ ἐκείνους ἰδὲν ἀναστάντες, προσέχονται τὸν ἥλιον, οὐχ' ἄσπερ ἡμεῖς, τὰς χεῖρας κούσσωσι. &c. &c. And so possibly *Tertullian* is to be understood [*Apol. cap. 16. p. 16. edit. Paris. 1675.*] Plerique vestrum, affectatione aliquando & celestia adorandi, ad solis ortum labia vibratis.

So *Mimutius Felix* (*in Octav. juxta initium*) *Cæcilius*, simulacro *Serapidis* denotato, (ut vulgus superstitiosus solet) manum ori admovent, osculum labiis pressit. And more plainly *Apuleius* (*in Apolog. p. 496.*) describing *Æmilianus's* neglect of religion: Nam ut audio, per cententibus iis qui istum novere, nulli Deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit, nullum Templum frequentavit, si sanum aliquod prætereat, nefas habet adorandi gratiā manum labris admovere.

mong

mong whom its great antiquity is evident from this passage of *Job*, *If my mouth hath kissed my hand*.

THE frequency of the ceremony gave occasion to it's being sometimes put for religious worship in general, as in that passage of the Psalmist, *Kiss the son, lest he be angry* w, i. e. pay your worship and adoration to him. And to this some have supposed as well the Greek *προσκύνησις* as the *Latin adoratio* to owe its original. From hence, like other acts of religion, it has been drawn into a mark of civil respect, and has

Job. xxi. 27. The Hebrew is *אֶפְרַיִם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה* And my hand hath kissed my mouth: Which some understand, as if the mouth of the person worshiping represented that of the idol, and his hand were his own substitute paying worship to it, ready to obey and execute its commands. [Raimold, in lib. Apocryph. tom. 2. col. 1559.] Yet others choose to explain this by an *hypallage* or transposition of the Words agreeably to our translation. [vid. *Glossu Grammat. sacra* p. 742. alias 719.] And so the worshiper is understood to have communicated his kisses to the distant idol by his hand. vid. *Bevri notus in Selden de Dis Syris*, p. 40.

Psal. 2. 12. Qui adorant, solent deosculari manum & capita submittere — & Hebraei, juxta linguæ suæ proprietatem, deoscultationem pro veneratione ponunt. Hieron. *Apolog. contra Rufin. lib. 1. cap. 9.* Sicut apud orientis populos veneratio ostendebatur variis flectendi corporis formis: ita apud Græcos & nonnullas gentes alias, manum ad os admovendo, quod propriè est *apocryphus a non* [in atero fero & suavior] & inde *xviii* quod est *osculor*. Nec aliud significat Latinum *adorare*, non ab *orare*, i. e. precari factum, sed ab eo quod manus admoveatur ori. Ita Grotius in *Decalog. ad Exod. xx. 5.* Thus *jacere oscula* with Tacitus [Hist. lib. 1. cap. 36.] and *adorare vulgum* have the same meaning, This is *manu venerari*. Tacit. *Annal. 16. cap. 4.* & Sueton. in *Claudio cap. 12.* So *jacat basia sibi* cen. Phadr. lib. 5. fab. 7. And so possibly.

Roma salutavit voce MANUque ducem.

Martial. *Epigr. lib. 8. Epig. 65.*

been sometimes used as a note of the utmost obedience and subjection².

I HAD reason to pursue the matter to this point, in order to represent the true nature and circumstances of that crime, concerning which the author of our text has made such declaration: *This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above.*

How opposite were his sentiments (good man!) to those conceits, which we have seen advanced and propagated by certain novelists among our selves, who in defiance of that very constitution, for which they profess a more abundant zeal, and in flat contradiction to that royal supremacy, which they have solemnly acknowledged, do insist upon it as a natural right, for all men to publish their opinions without let or molestation, and disclaim all authority or power of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious! Against so mischievous a doctrine I would direct my present discourse: and if I may be acquitted from the blame of dictating

² As when Pharaoh said to Joseph Gen. 41. 40. *According to thy word shall all my people be ruled:* The Hebrew *כָּל עַמִּי יִשְׁתָּכָח בְּדִבְרֶיךָ* Upon thy mouth shall all my people kiss. From hence a solemn salutation came to be used, in token of homage, among the ceremonies at the coronation of the King. 1 Sam. x. 1. And the Jews accordingly make mention *קִשּׁוֹת הַמַּלְכוּת* The kiss of grandeur or magnificence [vid. Carpzov. not. in Schickard. Jus Reg. cap. 1. theorem. 4.] And of this some have understood that passage in Proverbs, where speaking of the right and equal administration of justice, the wise man has this remark, *Every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer.* Prov. xxiv. 26. See farther, upon the subject of salutation, Drusii observat. l. 1. c. 20. Cunrad. Dieteric. Antiquit. Biblic. ad Job xxxi. 26, 27. Doughtei Analecta sacra, Excurs. 133.

to my superiors as to the duty, I trust I shall need no apology for asserting their right, to exert the authority they have from God for the support and interest of true religion.

To this end I would

I. PROPOSE some arguments in proof and vindication of such authority.

II. ANSWER the most plausible objections that are made against it. And then.

III. MAKE some inferences from the whole, relating to the duty both of magistrate and people.

FIRST then I would bespeak your patience, whilst I propose some arguments in vindication of the authority of our civil governors in matters of religion.

BUT here before all things, and to prevent mistakes, we must be careful to distinguish between that power which is merely *external*, and applies the temporal sword for securing the outward state and profession of religion: and that which is properly *internal* and spiritual, and belongs to the Church as a distinct society. This last Christ committed to his Apostles and their successors: but the other is that authority which we contend for in the civil Magistrate, and which ought to be exerted by him for the support and establishment of true religion. This I doubt not to evince from these ensuing arguments. Namely,

1. FROM the precepts and examples of this kind in the Old Testament.

2. FROM the characters and predictions which relate to civil governors under the Christian dispensation.

3. FROM the universal consent and opinion of Mankind in this particular. And

4. FROM the nature and reason of the thing itself.

(1.) FIRST from the precepts and examples of this kind in the Old Testament.

WHEN God was pleased to take upon himself the government of *Israel*, he did it in the quality of a *king*^a, and resented it as an indignity offered him, when they asked to have another *king* set over them, *like all the nations*^b. In this capacity he gave them laws, as well for the establishment of their religion, as the direction of their civil polity^c. And *Moses*, whose ministry he used on this occasion, is therefore described to have been *king in Jeshurun*^d. Now what should be inferred from this, but that the princes of the earth ought to conform themselves to the divine example, and exert their authority for the support and establishment of true religion? For tho' in this the case be different, that the question concerning the truth of religion is not affected by the countenance or opposition of their laws, as it was by the divine; yet in this they will be found to agree, that the religion, which shall

^a Vid. Spencer. de legibus Hebræor. lib. 1. in dissert. de *Theocratia Judaica* cap. 1.

^b 1 Sam. viii. 5, 7.

^c Vid.

Spencer ut supra, cap. 3. ^d Deut. xxxiii. 5.

otherwise appear to be true, will equally deserve to be supported by the supream authority.

FOR this purpose God himself provided, that when the people should desire an alteration in the form of government; the *King*, who should be over them, should be obliged ^e to write himself a copy of the law^f, and to read therein all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God; and this not merely for his private edification and instruction, but to direct him in discharging the duties of his high station, to keep all the words of this law (as it follows) and these statutes to do them, by seeing namely, that they be punctually observed in every particular, as well in the rites and ceremonies of religion, as in the distribution of civil Justice. From whence it appears to have been a stated ceremony at the time of coronation, to deliver the testimony^g or the law of *Moses* into the king's hand; in order to be thus transcribed by

Deut. xvii. 18, 19. ^f The Hebrew is משנה ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^{aa} ^{ab} ^{ac} ^{ad} ^{ae} ^{af} ^{ag} ^{ah} ^{ai} ^{aj} ^{ak} ^{al} ^{am} ^{an} ^{ao} ^{ap} ^{aq} ^{ar} ^{as} ^{at} ^{au} ^{av} ^{aw} ^{ax} ^{ay} ^{az} ^{ba} ^{bb} ^{bc} ^{bd} ^{be} ^{bf} ^{bg} ^{bh} ^{bi} ^{bj} ^{bk} ^{bl} ^{bm} ^{bn} ^{bo} ^{bp} ^{bq} ^{br} ^{bs} ^{bt} ^{bu} ^{bv} ^{bw} ^{bx} ^{by} ^{bz} ^{ca} ^{cb} ^{cc} ^{cd} ^{ce} ^{cf} ^{cg} ^{ch} ^{ci} ^{cj} ^{ck} ^{cl} ^{cm} ^{cn} ^{co} ^{cp} ^{cq} ^{cr} ^{cs} ^{ct} ^{cu} ^{cv} ^{cw} ^{cx} ^{cy} ^{cz} ^{da} ^{db} ^{dc} ^{dd} ^{de} ^{df} ^{dg} ^{dh} ^{di} ^{dj} ^{dk} ^{dl} ^{dm} ^{dn} ^{do} ^{dp} ^{dq} ^{dr} ^{ds} ^{dt} ^{du} ^{dv} ^{dw} ^{dx} ^{dy} ^{dz} ^{ea} ^{eb} ^{ec} ^{ed} ^{ee} ^{ef} ^{eg} ^{eh} ^{ei} ^{ej} ^{ek} ^{el} ^{em} ^{en} ^{eo} ^{ep} ^{eq} ^{er} ^{es} ^{et} ^{eu} ^{ev} ^{ew} ^{ex} ^{ey} ^{ez} ^{fa} ^{fb} ^{fc} ^{fd} ^{fe} ^{ff} ^{fg} ^{fh} ^{fi} ^{fj} ^{fk} ^{fl} ^{fm} ^{fn} ^{fo} ^{fp} ^{fq} ^{fr} ^{fs} ^{ft} 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him, and made the rule and measure of his government; to which end a *covenant* was made not only *between king and people*, but likewise *between the Lord and both of them*^h, that all in their respective stations, as well the king in quality of sovereign, as the people in quality of subjects, should be subservient to the honour of God, and promote the interest of his religion.

THE like precept for studying and observing the law was given afterwards to *Joshua*ⁱ, and it is drawn by the Psalmist into a general rule, *Be wise now therefore, O ye kings, be instructed ye judges of the earth: serve the Lord with fear*^k, serve him namely with your authority as you are *kings and judges*, and instead of studying to vex and molest his Church, let it be your earnest care to establish and support it.

AGREEABLY to such directions the pious kings of *Judah* were careful to enforce the precepts, and prohibitions of the law with fresh sanctions of their own, to require the regular performance of divine worship, and prescribe new rules of expediency and order, where the law had left a latitude for doing it. So it was that *David*^l and *Solomon*^m methodized the *courses of the Priests and Levites* concerning which *Moses* had given no direction: And when afterwards the face of religion was entirely changed by

^h 2. Kin. xi. 17. ⁱ Chron. xxiii. 16.

^k Psal. ii. 10, 11.

viii. 14.

^l 1. Chron. xxiii. &c.

^m Josh. i. 7, 8.

ⁿ 2. Chron.

the abominable corruptions introduced in the reigns of *Abaz* and *Manasseh*, with what zeal and earnestness did *Hezekiah*ⁿ and *Jahiah*^e apply themselves to reform those horrible abuses, not only by destroying all the instruments and occasions of idolatry, but likewise by using their authority with priests and people, to enjoin that due observation of religious rites, which was prescribed 'em in the law of *Moses*, to enforce moreover the injunctions of *David* and of *Solomon*, and add harmonious consorts of vocal and instrumental musick as they saw occasion. Need I add to this what was done of the like kind by *Asa*^p and *Jehashaphat*^q, who are so far from being blamed for exerting their authority to such pious purposes, that 'tis mentioned to their honour as a proof of their integrity, and matter of the highest commendation?

I AM well aware of the objection made by some, that whatever was done of this kind by the kings of *Judah*, they did in the capacity of *prophets*, not of *kings*. But they would do well to shew us, what special commission they received distinct from the general duties of their station. Of *David* indeed it is confessed that the instructions which he gave to *Solomon*, for the building and service of the temple, are ascribed to the influence and direction of

^a 2 Kin. xviii. 4. 2 Chron. xxix. xxx, & xxxi. ^e 2 Kin. xxiii. ^p 1 Kin. xv. 12, &c. ^q 2 Chron. xiv. 3, 4, 5. & ch. xv. 12—16. ^r 2 Chron. xvii. 6, &c. ch. xix. 3, 4. & ch. xx. 3, 21.

the *Holy Spirit*. But it is no where intimated, that either *David* or *Solomon* had any new power conveyed to 'em for that purpose, but only that their former power was *anew* enforced, that they were specially enlightened to direct 'em in the exercise of it, and more strictly bound to exercise it in that manner. For a proof of this we may consider, that when *David*, before such extraordinary inspiration, had designed to build the temple himself, and doubtless to prescribe some rules for the greater regularity of its ministrations, the piety of his purpose was approved not only by *Nathan*, the prophet^f, but by God himself, notwithstanding he was required to leave the execution of it to his son: For so said God unto him; *Whereas it was in thine heart to build an house unto my name, thou didst well, that it was in thine heart, nevertheless thou shalt not build the house but thy son*^t. The authority for acting and the skill to act, are clearly distinct ideas; and *Solomon* well knew how to distinguish them upon another occasion, when he pray'd for a wise and *understanding heart to judge that great people*^v. The *right of judgment* he had before as a king; but the *skill to judge* was what he still wanted, and that he received afterwards by inspiration.

As for the other Kings of *Judah*, there is no shadow of reason to believe them endued

^t 1 Chron. xxviii. 12, 19.

xvii. 1, 2.

^f 2 Sam. vii. 2, 3. 1 Chron.

^v 1 Kin. viii. 18, 19.

2 Chron. vi. 8, 9.

^t 1 King. iii. 9. 2 Chron. i. 10.

with the spirit of prophecy: And if there were Prophets sometimes sent to encline and move them to the like pious undertakings; yet this was not understood to convey to them any *new* authority; but only to excite them to a vigorous exercise of *that* with which they were already invested; to make a right use and application of their regal power for the support and service of religion. That after this they had clear and strong impressions of their duty; by the influences of divine Grace, may be easily admitted. But the *sense of duty* is a thing perfectly distinct from the *authority of acting*: And the same, we hope, may be reasonably presumed of those Christian Princes, who are careful to search into the will of God, and have the opportunity to see and hear much greater things than either *Kings* or *Prophets* of the former dispensation ^w: especially when it is consider'd that the acts even of *Heathen* Emperors, in favour of the *Jewish* Church, are ascribed to the same guidance and impulse of the holy Spirit ^x.

To all this may be added that the Kings of *Judah*, who did much of this kind, are sometimes blamed for not doing still more; for not using the authority they had, without waiting for a new commission, to restrain their people from the prevailing, but schismatical, practice of worshipping at other Altars, besides that of *Jerusalem*: in which case this complaint comes often in as

^w Mat. xiii. 17. Luk. x. 24.

^x So the Scripture speaks of *Cyrus*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezr. i. 1. of *Darius*, Ezr. vi. 22. of *Artaxerxes*, Ezr. vii. 6, 27, 28. Neh. i. 11. and ii. 8. of all of them, Ezr. ix. 9.

an exception to their character; Nevertheless, the high places were not taken away; the people sacrificed and burnt Incense still in the high places¹.

THE Jewish Synagogues perhaps might open a new field of argument, which were places of worship very often honour'd with the divine presence and discourses of our blessed Savior²; although they were not mention'd in the law of Moses, but, as to the form or method observ'd in them, seem to have been matter of human institution, and subject to the regulation of the higher powers. But that we may not seem to depend wholly on the examples of the old Testament, nor yet on Jewish examples in the new, the same is to be argued,

2. Secondly, from those characters and predictions which relate to civil governors under the Christian dispensation. For to them are those precepts beforemention'd given by the royal Psalmist, to kiss the son, and serve the Lord with fear³: to them not merely as men, but as they are invest'd with the royal dignity; for it is in quality of Kings, that the language of the Psalmist is addressed to them; nor could the rules which he prescribes, in any other view, be more the matter of their care and concern, than they were of private men. To serve him then as Kings must imply their serving him with all their power

¹ 1 Kin. xv. 14. and xxii. 43. 2 Kin. xii. 3. and xiv. 4. and xv. 4, 35. 2 Chron. xx. 17. and xx. 33.

² See Mar. ii. 39. and elsewhere frequently.

³ Psalm. ii. 12, 12.

and authority ^b. And to that purpose it is foretold elsewhere by the same *Psalmist*, that *all Kings should fall down before him*, and *all nations should do him service*; which can scarce be understood of their embracing his Religion in a private capacity, but must in all reason extend to their receiving it into the national establishment, and supporting it by the additional sanctions and encouragement of human laws.

OR what else can we explain that protection promised to the Church, when *the sons of strangers should build up her walls*, and *their Kings should minister unto her* ^d? And when she is farther described to *suck the milk of the Gentiles*, and *the breasts of kings* ^e? What else can be infer'd from hence, but that the princes of the earth, converted to the faith of Christ, would think themselves obliged to use their wealth and their authority for the propagation and encrease of his religion, to secure it from outward harms, and supply something analogous to that nutrition or sustenance of human Bodies, whereby they

Quomodo ergo Reges Domino servant in timore, nisi ea, quæ contra jussa Domini sunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque preterendo? Aliter enim servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam Rex est. Quia homo est, servit vivendo fideliter; quia vero etiam Rex est, servit, leges jussa præcipientes & contraria prohibentes, convenienti vigore faciundo, sicut servivit Ezechias, &c. D. August. ad Bonifac. Milit. Epist. 185. Edit. Bened. alias 50. In hoc reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo servant in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ pertinent ad divinam religionem. D. August. contra Cresconium. lib. 3. cap. 51.

Psalm. lxxiii. 11. Isa. lx. 10. Jer. 16.

gradually advance from their infant state, to a state of manhood and maturity.

OR if all this should be too little to satisfy our captious adversaries; let them add to the account what the same Prophet has foretold, in terms more clear and exprefs, concerning that protection which the Christian Church should receive, upon the conversion of the civil powers: *They shall bring thy sons (says he) in their arms and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders: and kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers*.⁸ Their station qualifies them to protect and nourish it, in a manner not to be expected from their subjects, who are not invested with the same Authority: and this is at once implied to be their duty, and foretold to be their practice; that in this sense at least, as it is said in the *Apocalyptical Vision* of St. John, *the kingdoms of this World may become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ*^h, subject to his rule; and subservient to his religion.

ACCORDINGLY when the Empire became Christian, we may soon observe these predictions to have been punctually verified: when the pious Emperors, not only were actually solicitous about the support and establishment of pure Christianity, but acknowledged that to be the most important

⁸ Inter cetera quibus ditatur Ecclesia, & urbs salvatoris extruitur— videmus Cæsares Romanos Christi jugo colla submittere, & ædificare Ecclesias expensis publicis, & adversus persecutiones gentium, atque insidias Hæreticorum legum scita pendere. D. Hieron. comment. in Esai. lx. 10. Juxta Septuaginta, *Divitias regum comedas*. Quæ divitiæ secundum hebraicam veritatem ubera sunt regum atque doctorum, quibus nascentium in Christo eruditur & nutritur infantia. Idem in v. 16.

^h Isa. xlix. 22, 23.

^h Rev. xi. 15.

Of all their business, the first and principal part of their concernⁱ. To the same principle we owe the benefit of our own happy establishment: and may God, of his great mercy, continue them without interruption to our latest posterity! But these remarks perhaps had been more properly referred to the

3. THIRD argument proposed in vindication of such authority of the civil powers, which is drawn from the universal consent and opinion of Mankind in this particular.

It may by this time appear what has been thought in the *Jewish* and Christian Church: but the assertion in the text is a proof of their opinion, who had not the advantage of either dispensation, but seem to have derived their notion of the matter, from the dictates of right reason, or the maxims of tradition, or else from some distinct and special revelation. The crime which *Job* refers to, was manifestly in matter of religion. It lay in a wrong choice of the object of divine worship, and did not directly concern the peace and order of the civil society. It was not again

ⁱ Inter imperii nostri maximas curas, Catholicæ legis reverentia aut prima semper, aut sola est. Neque enim aliud aut belli laboribus agimus, aut pacis conciliis ordinamus, nisi ut verum Dei cultum orbis nostri plebs devota custodiat. *Imperat. Theodos. & Honor. Marcellino in eod. Theod. eod. 16. Tit. 11. l. 3. An. 410.* Inter cæteras sollicitudines quas amor publicus pervigili nobis cogitatione indixit, præcipuam Imperatoris Majestatis curam esse perspicimus religionis indaginem. *Theodos. & Valentin. Novel. lib. 1. Tit. 3. De Judæis, Samaritanis, &c. An. 439.* Nos maximam habemus sollicitudinem circa vera Dei dogmata, & circa Sacerdotum honestatem. *Justinian. Epiphonio Auth. Coll. 1 Tit. 6. Nov. 6.* Omne nobis est studium & oratio, ut crediti nobis a Domino Deo benè vivant, & ejus inveniant placationem. *Justinian. Authent. Coll. 6. Tit. 6. Constantinopolitanis.*

that atheism or contempt of all religion, which the greatest patrons of latitude allow to be intolerable; but it was that preference of one form of religion to another, in which they contend that no power upon earth should interpose, but all men should be left to the exercise of equal right, so long as they abuse it not to prejudice the publick security. And yet this is the crime of which *Job* has declared, that it *were an iniquity to be punished by the Judge**: who consequently thought it to be the *Judge's* duty, as well as privilege to interpose in such matters and exert the authority with which he is invested, as well for the support and encouragement of sound doctrine and a pure worship, as for the suppression of all vain superstition and imposture. And what was the ground which he assign'd for his opinion? Not any danger of temporal inconvenience or mishap (tho' that without doubt may have it's weight:) but the dishonour which is done to God by such idolatry; for (says he) *I should have denied the God that is above*: so that the care of religion as such, was in his opinion one part of the *Magistrate's* concern, and not merely as it might happen to affect the outward security and welfare of the State.

BUT what need to insist upon particular testimonies, when the whole conduct of the ancient *Patriarchs* might be appeal'd to on this head;

* The Hebrew is *וְעוֹלָתוֹ* or *וְעוֹלָתוֹ* as it is at the 11th verse, *an iniquity of, or for, the Judge*, i. e. cognisable by them. *וְעוֹלָתוֹ* It has the signification of *Judgment, or Judicature*: R. Sal. ben Melech in *Miclat Tophiad* loc. The phrase is no where else to be met with: but that *human judgment* is intended may appear from the use of the word *וְעוֹלָתוֹ* in *Exod. xxi, 22.* and *Deut. xxxii. 31.*

whilst the *Priesthood* it self was generally exercis-
ed by him who had supream power¹, from this
principle no doubt, that the care of religion was
incumbent upon him; and ought to be esteem'd
inseparable from his office? From them it seems
to have been drawn into example among heathen
nations, whose *Kings* were many of them
Priests^m: And when afterwards the offices be-
came separate, yet in remembrance of that anti-
ent combination, the title of *King*ⁿ was for
some time ascribed to one of the prime administra-
tors of religious rites among the *Romans*, even
whilst the republican form of government pre-
vailed; as on the other hand the title of *Pontifex*
Maximus which had at first been appropriated to
their *Kings*^o, and frequently annex'd to offices

¹ Vid. *Joh. Henr. Heidegger. Hist. Sacr. Patriarchar. vol. 1. exercit.*
1. §. 19. & exercit. 3. § 6. ^m Omnino apud veteres qui
rerum poterant, idem auguria tenebant: ut enim sapere, sic di-
vinare regale ducebant, ut testis est nostra civitas: in qua & Reges
Augures, & postea privati eodem sacerdotio præditi rempublicam
religionum auctoritate rexeunt. *Cicero de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 40.*

Rex Aniæ, Rex idem hominum Phœbiq; sacerdos. Virg. Æneid. 3.
Rex idem, & regi Turno gratissimus Augur. Æneid. 9.

ⁿ *Rex sacrorum, or Rex sacrificulus. See Kennet. Rom. Antiq. par. 2.*
l. 2. c. 5. Retum deinde divinarum habita cura, & quia quedam
publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium
esset, regum sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium Pontifici subjecere,
See. Divin. hist. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 2. To this office some have sup-
posed *Virgil* to allude in the passage last cited, tho' speaking of times
much more ancient. ^o Ετυχε τῶν Νεμεῶν Πομπιλῶν ἀρχόντων,
καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, καὶ μὴ ἐκείνους Ὀκλαβάρους, τὸν δὲ
καὶ οἱ μὴ ἐκείνους τῶν Πομπιλῶν διαδεχόμενοι πομπιλικῶν. Ἄλλα δὲ τῶν πα-
ραλειπόμενων τῶν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἀρχόντων, ἢ ἰσχυρῶν τῶν παρὰ τῶν Πομπι-
λῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ πομπιλικῶν. καὶ πομπιλικῶν Πομπιλικῶν μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις. *Zosim. hist. lib. 4. p. 250. edit. Oxon.*

of the first rank in the time of their republick^r, was afterwards retained by the Emperors themselves, till at last it was refused by *Gratian*, not because he thought himself unconcern'd in matters of religion, but because he judged that title, taken from the *heathen Priesthood*, to be unworthy of a *Christian Emperor* ¹.

NOR was it, in those who used it, a mere empty title: For tho' many considerations made it proper, to separate the civil from the sacred function, as express institution has done in the Church of God^r; yet still they thought themselves concern'd to exert their power, in defence of the religion they profess'd; and the rights which were secured by the laws of the *twelve tables*, conformably to the laws and constitutions of other nations, were as well those which concern'd the ceremonies of religion, as those which related to the publick interest of the state, or the property of private persons^r.

AND lest we should suspect all this to be mat-

¹ Ante hunc [P. Licinium Crassum, qui & Aedilitatem Curulem petitus erat] intra centum annos & viginti, nemo præter P. Corneliū Calpurniū, Pontifex maximus creatus fuerat, qui sella curuli non sedisset. Livii hist. Rom. lib. 25. cap. 5.

² Τὸν δὲ κατεφίκαν κατὰ τὸ συνδυασμὸν προσηγορεύοντα Γρατιανὸν τὸν ὅλκον, ἀπεσείσατο τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Χριστιανὸν τὸ ἅγιον νομίζοντα. Zosimus ubi supra.

³ Morem autem illum conjungendi Imperium cum Sacerdotio, per annos ferme bis mille quingentos toto orbe terrarum, multis in locis etiam seriās usurpatum, alibi quidem regum luxus, socordia aut bellicæ occupationes, in populo autem Dei lex divina, abrogavit. Grotius de imp. summar. potest. circa sacra, cap. 2. § 5. Eadem ferme habentur apud Heidegger. exercit. 3. § 6.

⁴ Jus triplex tabula quod ter sanxere quaterna,

SACRUM, privatum & populi commune quod usquam est.

Ausonius Edyl. 4. alias 11.

ter of usurpation, and encroachment, acting without their proper sphere, and intermeddling in a business by no means their own; it may be added, that they who have written as *philosophers*, and treated most accurately of the nature and ends of government, have been so far from reckoning the affairs of religion to be exempted from the notice of the civil powers, that on the contrary they have esteemed them to be the first and most important part of their concern. But of this we may be able to make judgment ourselves, when I shall have offered in the

4. **F**OURTH and last place, what is farther to be argued to this purpose from the nature and reason of the thing it self.

WHEN they who espouse the other Side of the question, assert secular security and peace to be the only End of civil government, to which all its enterprises and designs should be subser-

Ἐπισκεπτοὶ δὲ καὶ πόσα ταῦτα ἴσιν, ὅτι ἀνὴρ πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη — πῶς αὖτε καὶ πρῶτος τῶν πρὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιμέλειαν ἢ καθοὐστέρησεν. *Aristot. Politic. lib. 7. cap. 8.* Ἦτις οὖν ἀρετὴ καὶ κτήνη τῶν φθόνου ἀγαθῶν ποιεῖται τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ μάχας διακρίνει — ἀλλὰ ἀρετὴ καὶ εὐδαιμονία ὅρος καλλίστερος ἐστὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἢ δὲ ἡδονῆς, ἢ δὲ ὑπερβολῆς καλῶς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρεῖται καὶ διακρίνει, αὐτὴ δὲ φρόνη. *Aristot. Eudem. lib. 7. cap. 15. in fine.* *Hujus ergo summæ potestatis ita definitæ imperium dicimus, non ad profana tantum, sed ad sacra quoque extendi. Gratius de imp. summar. potestas, circa sacra, cap. 1. §. 2.* Observandum in foro humano delicta potissimum æstimari ex eorundem objecto — Prout igitur objectum actionis nobile est & pretiosum quod violatum fuit, eo gravior quoque ac deterior habetur actio. Inter ista porro objecta, uti nobilitate immensum excellit Deus O. M. ita merito præ cæteris maximè detestanda habetur actio, quæ directè in ipsius contumeliam tendit. *Puffendorf. de jur. nat. & gent. l. 8. c. 3. §. 18.*

vient, they grant us more than they are aware for the proof and support of our conclusion. For what can conduce more to such welfare and security, than the care of that virtue and religion, which is encouraged with *the promises of the present life*, as well as of *that which is to come*? that *seeking of the Kingdom of God*, in consequence whereof we are freed from all anxious solicitude, and taught to depend on the provision of our heavenly Father for the *addition of all outward goods*? so is the doctrine of the *new* testament consonant with that of the *old*, where almost every page contains a demonstration of this kind, and shews how victory over enemies, how the fertility of the soil, and every sort of wealth and prosperity among God's antient people, were made to depend on their religious observance of divine laws. Nor has it escaped the observation of heathen as well as christian writers, how the prosperous or adverse condition of the state, hath been usually

1. Tim. iv. 8. Mat. vi. 33. Intuemini enim horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res, vel adversas, invenietis — omnia prosperè evenisse sequentibus Deos, adversa spernentibus. Livii hist. orat. M. Fur. Camill. lib. 5. cap. 51.

Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuose.

Horat. lib. 3. od. 6.

Cujus [religionis] si cultum retinere potueris [potuerimus] iter prosperitatis humanis aperimus inceptis. Theodos. & Valentin. Novel. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Judais, Samaritanis, &c.

proportioned to its neglect or regard for the interest and duties of religion.

INDEED religion has a natural tendency to make men good citizens and faithful subjects, and thereby to promote the interest and good of the community²: for as its precepts prescribe such a behaviour as may be most conducive to the publick safety, so its doctrines have a powerful efficacy to enforce those precepts; and its very ceremonies are calculated to encrease that reverence with which we should receive them. The nearer any system of religion approaches to the truth, the more will these benefits be found redounding to society³; and there is nothing from which the common-wealth has more to apprehend, than from corruptions in the grand articles of faith, unless it be from downright Atheism and a contempt of all religion. So that if temporal welfare were acknowledged the chief end of government, yet even in this view the care of religion would appear to be strictly incumbent on the civil magistrate.

² Ἐχόμενοι δ' εἰσι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων διόμενοι, καὶ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι, καὶ πράττειν καλῶς· ἀδυνατῶν δὲ καλῶς πράττειν τοῖς μὴ τὰ καλὰ πράττειν· Aristot. Polit. lib. 1. cap. 1. Ἐὰν τίς τὸν ἥνα δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀποδέχεται, καὶ πόλιν εὐδαίμονιστέραν φήσει τὴν σπουδαιότεραν. Idem. cap. 2.

³ Φίλτρον ᾧ ἀντισμύεται καὶ δισμὸς ἄλλος ἐνείας ἱερτικῆς ἢ τοῦ ἰδὸς Θεοῦ τιμῆς. Philo. Jud. de Monarchiâ, lib. 1. p. 632.

Heu primæ scelerum causæ mortalibus ægris
Naturam nescire Deum.

Sil. Ital. Punicor. lib. 4.

BUT to say the truth, this is a wrong and partial representation of the end of government. The glory of God, the creator and governor of all things, *by whom Kings reign*^b, is that ultimate end to which all their acts and enterprises should be constantly subservient. They should remember in the words of good King *Jehoshaphat*, that they *judge not for man, but for the Lord*^c, to whose glory therefore they ought to have regard in judgment, and not merely to human or temporal considerations. And if then his glory be advanced by the support of sound religion, and the subversion of all error and wickedness, there can be no doubt but it is their duty to exert the authority, which they receive from him, for such purposes, and to account themselves happy in the attainment of them^d. There is one and the same invisible Head and King over the ecclesiastical and the civil community, whose visible substitutes, in each, should endeavour, within the proper sphere of their activity, to promote his glory in both. And therefore as the pastors of the church on one hand should extend their views to the peace and order of the civil society, so likewise should the civil powers on the other hand exert their authority for the establishment and maintenance of true religion.

^b Prov. viii. 15.

^c 2 Chron. xix. 6.

^d *Felices eos [Reges Christianos] dicimus, si suam potestatem, ad Dei cultum maximè dilatandum, Majestati ejus famulam faciant. D. August. de civit. Dei. lib. 4. cap. 24.*

THE welfare of the people over whom they preside, is another end of government subordinate to the former : but he who imagines that welfare to be only temporal, does but consider things by halves, and fastens his eyes upon the shadow of happiness, whilst he neglects the substance. As all our actions in this life should be conducted with a view and prospect towards another, so the laws of the state should be principally calculated to secure and rectify us in that view and prospect, and not stop in the provision of fading and transitory goods, with the neglect of such as are lasting and substantial. The end of the sacred and the civil authority is so far the same, that they are both alike directed to the real welfare and good of the community ^e.

AGREEABLE to all this is St. Paul's account of the duty of the supream power, when he describes him as *the minister of God for good — a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil*^f. The end of his office, we see, is the attainment of GOOD, of good absolutely as such, and consequently ALL good, whether spiritual or temporal, that (as the same Apostle elsewhere has it) *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*^g: in godliness as well as honesty, in a regular discharge of

^e Εξ ἡρωσύνης καὶ βασιλείας τὰ πρόγματα συνίστηται. Ἐπὶ γὰρ καὶ πολλὰ ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὡς τυχή ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ σώμα· ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὁρᾶν τίλος, τὴν τῶν ὑπηκόων σωτηρίαν. Isidor. Pelusior. lib. 3. epist. 249.

^f Rom. xiii. 4.

^g 1 Tim. ii. 2.

our duty towards God, no less than in all social virtues one towards another. The prescribed method of his government is adapted to so good an end, namely, *to execute wrath upon him that doth evil*, to discourage and punish *evil doers* of both one sort and the other, as well in the matters which concern religion, as in those which are of secular or temporal concernment, that (as *Solomon* has it in the book of *Proverbs*) *the King that sitteth in the throne of judgment may scatter away ALL evil with his eyes^h*.

I have now done with the arguments which I proposed to urge in proof and vindication of this authority: My next business will be,

II. SECONDLY, to answer the most plausible *objections* that are made against it. To begin then with the

Object. I. FIRST; it is alledg'd that "Christ is the only Head and King of his Church, and that for any power upon earth to prescribe in matters of religion, is to invade his right and property, and exercise dominion over the servants of another master."

Answ. SO far as this *objection* relates to those spiritual powers which are claim'd and exercised by the pastors of the Church, I am not concern'd with it in this place. But so far as it relates to the interposition of the civil powers, it

^h Prov. xx. 8.

may be easily removed, by observing that this can be no more inconsistent with the supream authority of Christ, than their making laws as to our temporal concerns is with the government of Providence. For, that God governs the world, and dispenses his mercies or his judgments in every event; that he has likewise given us a rule of action, which cannot be superseded by any human authority; will be readily confessed by them who have taken any pains to understand either God or themselves. And yet who would infer from either of these principles, that the care of the magistrate is needless, or that he usurps on the divine prerogative, when he calculates his laws for the good of the society, and adds the sanction of proportionable penalties? He plainly becomes in that case the minister of Providence, rather than encroaches or usurps upon it. In like manner therefore when Christ is acknowledg'd to be the *only law-giver*, who has the disposal of life and condemnationⁱ, and has given out a system of religion which none may contradict: yet why must it from hence be argued, that the princes of the earth exceed their province, if they enforce his precepts with new sanctions of their own, and so become the instruments whereby he is pleased to make good his promise of protecting and perpetuating his Church? Surely this application of their power for the enforcement of his laws, implies rather an acknowledgment, than any denial, of his being *King of kings and Lord of lords*^k. Again,

ⁱJam. iv. 12.^kRev. xvii. 14. and xix. 16.*Object.*

Object. 2. SECONDLY, it is objected, that
 “ this use of the magistrate’s authority, must
 “ needs be very hazardous and full of danger :
 “ because if he should happen to mistake (as it is
 “ often seen) in his notions of religion, then in-
 “ stead of propagating truth and sound doctrine,
 “ he will become the instrument of advancing
 “ error and falshood in the world.”

Ans. BUT what is there in this objection, which might not be alledg’d, with equal strength, against any human management or proceeding whatsoever? Is not every parent and master of a family obliged to instruct his children and domesticks in the principles of morality at least, good neighbourhood and good manners? And yet can it be judged impossible for him to mistake in such matters? or shall the possibility of his mistaking, be thought to set aside either his right or his duty in this particular? Again, ought not every preacher of religion to teach the people committed to his charge with *words of truth and soberness*¹? And yet is not he himself liable to be deceiv’d, and capable of being imposed on with the grossest falshoods under the appearance and disguise of truth? Or if it be replied that these are rather methods of persuasion, than acts of power and authority: I would ask once more, is not the civil magistrate, whether supream or subordinate, bound to administer justice? And are not his acts, in that respect, deem’d valid and authoritative?

¹ Acts xxvi. 25.

And

And is he then only infallible in civil causes? Or rather is he not liable to err in them as well as in ecclesiastical? And why should that possibility of erring, which is no bar to his authority in one respect, be esteem'd so in the other? Surely that way of reasoning can have no firm foundation, which, if once admitted, must overthrow all human authority, nay and (if pursued to its just consequence) all human action too, and introduce the utmost confusion in matters secular as well as sacred.

THE truth is, all men are obliged to consider seriously, and use all proper methods to inform their judgment as to matters of religion. After this the conviction of their judgment will become to them a rule of action, and direct them in their respective stations and offices of life. If they be men in private station, they may content themselves with a personal discharge of all religious duties: but if they be men of publick character, they should, in proportion to that authority with which they are invested, be sure to require and countenance the observance of them by others, and remember that the publick state of religion is as much their care and concern, as its private influence is that of each man in particular; and they may no more neglect the use of their authority, than others may that of their respective faculties, for its service and support. This indeed must bring them under stricter obligations to seriousness in their inquiries; because they enquire not only for themselves; but likewise for

the direction of that influence which they have on others.

NOT that they are bound to search into the depths of every controversy that may arise, with relation either to faith or practice! It is enough that they be satisfied of the great articles of faith, and the general rules or maxims of behaviour: And as for the discussion of particular questions and subtilties that shall arise, that may be refer'd to persons of greater opportunity and leisure, whose integrity as well as their abilities are liable to no suspicion. For as there is no doubt but the civil magistrate may uphold and encourage the due administration of justice, without being himself master of all those cases in point of law, which are the study of a particular profession; so it may be reasonably allowed him to support and countenance the profession of true religion, without having read over the Fathers and the Schoolmen, or being able to reply to every subtle and sophistical objector.

Object. 3. THIRDLY, the next plea that is urged against this power of the magistrate, is, that "by this means men may be forced to outward professions, which shall flatly contradict the persuasion of their own minds."

Answe. BUT will this happen more in ecclesiastical than civil matters? or is not the constraint the same, if the supream powers should prescribe any action in civil life, for the safety and pre-

preservation of the community, which their subjects perceive to be inconsistent with the laws of God, and the performance of their duty to him? In both cases the rule of the Apostle is alike applicable, that they should *obey and hearken unto God rather than unto men*^m, and adhere to what is right and true with all its disadvantages, rather than close in with any falshood or *iniquity*, however established *by a law*ⁿ. Only as on one hand it concerns those who govern, so to temper their severities with charity, that whilst their main end is secured, they may incline men to comply, rather from principle of conscience, than from hypocrisy and worldly motives; so on the other hand it must concern their subjects, to lay aside all prejudice and partiality, that they may not, thro' a false persuasion, reject the just commands of their superiors, nor abuse the sacred name of *conscience* as a colour for their contumacy. But if either side be defective as to their *duty* in this matter, that will not affect the question of *authority*: The magistrate will still be authorised to extend his jurisdiction to religious causes, and his subjects will be bound either to render an active obedience to his laws, or to sustain with patience the penalties annexed to them.

ALL the *objections*, which have hitherto been mentioned, are formed upon a shew of reason-

^m Acts iv. 19. and v. 29.

ⁿ Psal xciv. 20.

ing; but upon *such* reasons as would have altogether as much force, against any exercise of human power at all, as they have against the exercise of it in matters of religion; and therefore must be allowed to have no manner of force, because that which depends on such principles as would prove too much, is really sufficient to prove nothing at all. But

Object. 4. FOURTHLY, there is one wonderful *objection* yet behind, taken from an example in Scripture of a civil magistrate, who did actually refuse to concern himself in some matters of religion. And who was that, but "*Gallio the deputy of Achaia? who, when the Jews made insurrection against Paul, and accused him of persuading men to worship God contrary to the law, dismissed them with this answer; If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: But if it be a question of words, and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters.*"

Answer. BUT who ever dream'd 'till now, that the example of *Gallio* was fit to be proposed to the imitation of a Christian Magistrate? Who ever thought his character sufficient to outweigh the general consent and practice of mankind supported by the reason of the thing it self, and

° Acts xviii. 12, 13, 14, 15.

the express authority of revelation? or who would believe this instance of his conduct, to be mentioned to his commendation by St. *Luke*, when in the next verse we are acquainted how he drove them from the judgment-seat¹, and tho' the greatest outrage was committed in his presence upon the *chief ruler of the synagogue*, yet *Gallio*, it is added, *cared for none of those things*².

AND yet if *Gallio's* practice were allowed to have been just and reasonable, it is plainly beside the purpose of the question before us. The cause then depending was not between such persons as professed the religion established by the *Roman* laws, which was *Paganism*, and such as did oppose it; nor did it properly affect the controversies of that kind: (*Gallio* would scarce have thought himself at liberty, to refuse passing judgment in such matters!) But it was between Jews or Judaizers, and such as were fully instructed by St. *Paul* in the doctrine of Christian liberty. Among these it was disputed, whether *Jesus* were the promised *Messias*; and if he were, whether his coming had abolished the *Mosaick* institutions. And then it is no wonder, if *Gallio*, continuing a Heathen, and equally despising both parties, should refuse to concern himself with such questions, or set up for an *arbiter* of those disputes, which he neither understood, nor thought it worth his while

¹ Acts xviii. 16.

² Ver. 17.

to examine. So that this single instance, which is pick'd up, from among the various histories of all ages and of all nations, being utterly impertinent as to the matter in hand, must needs be altogether insufficient to overthrow the authority of the civil powers in matters of religion.

It remains for me now only in the

III. I. THIRD and last place to make some inferences from the subject I have been treating of, with relation to the duty both of magistrate and people. And

Inf. I. FIRST, if such, as we have seen, be his duty and authority; of what importance should he think it to himself, and to the community over which he presides, that he be rightly instructed in his notions of religion, and first satisfied in his own judgment of what is right and true, before he prescribes it as a rule for the practice or belief of others? The error of a single person might perhaps be tolerable, if there were no danger of its spreading to the prejudice of others: But when we consider the great mischiefs that must follow the error of a magistrate, whether by the propagation of it among the people, or by oppressing those who are too wise to be deluded; this surely must bring him under stricter obligations, than private men, to seriousness in his enquiries, and with King *Solomon* to apply himself by humble prayer

prayer to God, as the author and fountain of all good, that he would grant him a wise and *understanding heart* to govern the *people* committed to his charge¹.

THE people themselves, agreeable to the Apostle's precept, should add their *intercessions, for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*². They should be careful to join in the publick devotions offered up for them, and be always mindful of the Psalmist's request, *Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son*³. After this it might be hoped, unless the sins of the people should avert so great a blessing, that God would grant them his special guidance in their publick acts, that so (in the expression of the wiseman) *a divine sentence may be in the lips of a king, and his mouth may not transgress in judgment*⁴. Again,

Inf. 2. SECONDLY, After such information of the truth of religion, I would hope to be excused from the blame of dictating or prescribing to my superiors, if I humbly beg leave to remind them of what has been already prov'd, their duty to encourage and support it.

¹ 1 King. iii. 9.

² Psal. lxxii. 1.

³ 2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

⁴ Prov. xvi. 10.

A good magistrate will never take it ill to be told, that his office is attended with duty as well as dignity: And if the exact method of executing it be a matter fit to be refer'd to farther consideration; yet he must see at the first view, how it concerns him *not to bear the sword in vain*, but apply it to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of true religion and virtue. If death, and the severer penalties of the law be not well proportioned to error in opinion, but would rather tend to countenance hypocrisy in some, and confirm prejudice in others; yet there is no doubt but the lesser penalties may be discreetly managed, if not to persuade men into truth themselves (which may be hoped for in a course of time) yet at least to restrain them from spreading their contagion, and drawing others to their party. The civil powers again have certain favours to bestow, which, since no one has a right to claim them, may by them be turned into such proper channels, that they shall water and enrich the garden of God, encourage the faithful Christian, and help the better to secure him against temptation to apostacy. There are certain *negative discouragements*, as they are called of late; there are certain profits and privileges to be confer'd in civil community, from which they will very fitly be excluded, whose principles

are opposite to sound doctrine; especially if the enjoyment of such profits or privileges should put it in their power to propagate their evil notions, and thereby create much mischief to the Church.

I could rejoyce to believe that there were no occasion; but alas! it is too plain to be dissembled, there is great occasion, at this day, for such interposition of the civil powers. When we observe how heresy, and infidelity, and a contempt of all religion do prevail among us; how some have openly *denied the Lord that bought them*; and brought him down to the precarious condition of a creature; how others have made the *priesthood* their theme of ridicule, and derided as inconsistent with Christ's regal rights, that jurisdiction and authority of the visible Church, which whosoever should despise is, by our Lord's command, to be treated *as an heathen or a publican*; how lastly the whole Christian revelation has by some profane wits been exposed and vilified; we shall see abundant reason to conclude, that there is need of *secular* power for the restraining of such evil doers, whom no *ecclesiastical* penalties can terrify, who despise the tremendous censures of the *Church*, and are only to be kept in order by the *civil sword*.

2 Pet. ii. 1.

Mat. xviii. 17.

Inf. 3. **THIRDLY**, and to shut up all, from this duty of the magistrate it will be easy to collect that of the people, namely, to pay an humble regard and deference to this exercise of his authority.

IT may not be supposed, with the infamous author of the *Leviathan*, that the religion of the prince, whatever it be, ought to be embraced and profess'd by all his subjects. But it certainly concerns them to consider with serious and sober minds, and then to pay a chearful obedience, wherever it may be done with true honour and a clear conscience: always taking heed that they make no causeless oppositions, nor under the softer name of a scrupulous and tender conscience, allow themselves to gratify a froward and gainsaying, a worldly or ambitious Spirit.

BUT if, after all, his regulations should be such as they find cannot consist with the doctrines of truth, or with the laws of righteousness; then meekness and patience are those christian virtues in which they should labour to excel; no private hands may be allowed to redress publick grievances, by noise and faction, by arms and violence, but if humble remonstrances and supplications should avail them nothing, it will then be their duty to submit to any penalties rather than forfeit their integrity; and wait till God, who rules the hearts of
princes,

prison, shall be pleased to provide for their security. In the mean time, whatever miseries they may endure, it ought to be their comfort, that *great* is their *reward in heaven*; and as they follow the examples of the prophets and apostles, who suffered in like manner for the testimony of a good conscience, so their present affliction, *which is but for a moment*, will be the means of *obtaining for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory*; unto Iesus Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the holy Ghost be all honour, &c.

* 2 Cor. iv. 17.

F I N I S.



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